

**Policy Team-1**

# Nixon Solicits Ideas But Makes Decisions On Policies Himself

Reporters of The Washington Post have intensively interviewed most of the men who, while not members of the campaign staff, are contributing ideas on national policy to Vice President Richard M. Nixon. These men were asked what they think government should do in America in the 1960s and what programs the Republican Party should pursue. This series is a report of what these reporters, Murrey Marder, James E. Clayton and Julius Dusha, learned. A similar report on Sen. John F. Kennedy's advisers was published previously.

First of a Series

By James E. Clayton

Staff Reporter

The crucial facts which make Richard M. Nixon's campaign and his advisers different from most campaigns and most advisers are that Nixon is an unusually active Vice President and that he came unusually close to being President at three different times.

For almost eight years, Nixon has had a larger role than any other Vice President in history. He has been an active part of the Administration. He has presided over Cabinet and National Security Council meetings. He has represented the United States abroad. He feels, therefore, a great obligation to defend the policies of the Eisenhower Administration.

"I've been a part of our Administration for the last seven and a half years," Nixon said last June. "I'm proud of that record and instead of running away from it, I hope to run on it and to build on it."

Three times during those years, when President Eisenhower had his heart attack, his stroke, and his Aclitis operation, Nixon was almost President. This forced him to

The result is that Nixon is somewhat aloof from almost all his advisers. They talk to him and he listens but many of them do not know how much of their ideas he agrees with. Following a meeting of Nixon's newly created Policy Advisory Group last week, one of them remarked, "After every idea was expressed, Nixon said, 'That must certainly be considered.'"

Even those men closest to the Vice President in one field seem to be unsure of who gives him important advice in other fields. He seems to have kept his associates in separate compartments, with few joint meetings with him.

One of the reasons for this type of operation is the Vice President's feeling that he is competent to make the basic decisions in most fields. He

Denial of truths assures  
doom of communism, Nixon  
says, in first of his position  
papers. Page A16.

Virginia G.O.P. seeks to  
lure Democrats from Sen.  
Kennedy. Page C10.

think in hard, practical terms instead of in abstract conceptions about what he would do if he became President.

To be President is to realize that, as a sign on the desk of President Harry S. Truman read, "The buck stops here."

# Nixon Solicits Ideas But Makes His Own Policy Decisions

has already been participating in top level decisions for nearly a year to an extent far greater than any other first-time candidate for President.

Thus, in foreign affairs, Nixon and his candidate for Vice President, Henry Cabot Lodge, are their own advisers. They draw help from all the Government, emphasizing a few key people in the State Department, their staff, and friends. But there is no Nixon "brain trust" to think for him. He solicits ideas but the end product is his own.

The group of men who are contributing ideas to Nixon's campaign range from Cabinet officers and college presidents to businessmen and doctors. They come from New England and New York, from Iowa and California. Their ideas sometimes conflict. Their philosophical positions cut all the way across the liberal-conservative spectrum. Their party affiliations are both Republican and Democratic.

## 3 Basic Points

Taking their views as a whole, three points stand out.

• They generally accept the basic line of the Nixon campaign that the present Administration has been a good one but that the future requires change.

• They generally accept the view that Government should do no more than is absolutely essential.

• They generally accept that Richard M. Nixon would be a vigorous and competent President.

This last point gives them trouble. While the Democrats are charging President Eisenhower with not being vigorous enough, the Republicans cannot say Nixon will be more vigorous without conceding the Democrats are right, even though many of them think Nixon will indeed be more vigorous.

## 2 Lines of Argument

They follow two general lines of argument. One is that the Nixon-Lodge team is more experienced in dealing with the Russians and communists than is the Kennedy-Johnson team. While the platforms of both parties give priority to



CHARLES E. JOHNSON  
... part of the group

mobilizing the resources of the Western World for a diplomatic, economic and psychological battle against communism, the Nixon-Lodge advisers are convinced they are ahead in telling

the voters that their team will be the most effective.

The other line of argument is the phrase "Building a Better America," the title of the Republican Platform. This is a concept of new ideas built on the Eisenhower program. It has a sound re-emergence of the New Frontier concept of "The New Frontier." In fact, in 1958 before Kennedy was elected, Nixon called to a Harvard audience about "some of the new frontiers for America in the years ahead."

## • Own Policy Maker

The men around Nixon fall into three major categories. There is the group of Cabinet officers and Government officials who have been associated with him over the years. There is the group composed of persons who have been associated with him over the years. There is the group composed of persons who have been associated with him over the years.

These are the advisers who are closest to Nixon. They are the ones who are most likely to be consulted on the most important decisions. They are the ones who are most likely to be consulted on the most important decisions.

Without any question, the most important men in Nixon's circle of friends and advisers are the members of his "inner circle." They are the ones who are most likely to be consulted on the most important decisions. They are the ones who are most likely to be consulted on the most important decisions.

pleased to find Nixon broad-minded enough to listen to his critics and evaluate his own ideas. Hannah, president of Michigan State University and chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, thinks the administration has "fumbled" the Point Four and foreign aid programs. He calls for more leadership and more emphasis on these projects.

Top Role for Professor

The man in this group who is not well known outside of the specialized fields of legal philosophy and contract law but who may be an important figure in the campaign is Prof. L. Fuller of the Harvard Law School.

Fuller, almost shy man of 50, taught three courses which Nixon took at the Duke University Law School.

Fuller moved to Harvard in 1939 and was out of contact with Nixon until two years ago. Then he read that Nixon was to speak at the Harvard Business School.

Fuller had time to ask if he had time to come over and meet our faculty," Fuller explained. Nixon came and stayed for dinner. Fuller, a Democrat, says, "I was completely taken by his mind and his performance."

Since then, Fuller has been in contact with Nixon. He has been in contact with Nixon. He has been in contact with Nixon. He has been in contact with Nixon.

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LON L. FULLER  
... Nixon's former teacher

any guiding or limiting principles."

Since Government has no way to choose between the claims upon its resources of a teacher against those of a worker, he argues, the system dissolves into a "universal grab" without a free market to guide it. Until a system of limitations for governmental interference is developed, he says, Government should stay out of the economy as much as possible.

## Philosophical Dances

The argument, one of the basic ones made against Galbraith's theory, has considerable appeal to the Republicans. It gives a philosophical dress to their hopes of keeping Government as narrowly confined as possible.

Fuller is one of many in the academic group around Nixon who have been pleasantly surprised with Nixon's intellectual ability. One of them said that Nixon is different now than he was when he was "using" other than Marquis of Queensbury rules. Still another, who had been skeptical of Nixon's ability, said he was almost convinced now that Nixon would make a good President.

Mr. general, however, who is a businessman and professor around the Vice President, thinks highly of him. Fuller says he is a Nixon could think twice more of the predominantly Democratic academic community to him if he had time to talk to all the professors.

Having a dozen professors ideal goal but to realize it, the ways Nixon can appeal to the intellectuals. Another obvious part of their role in this campaign is to help Nixon overcome his reputation of being hostile to ideas and to academics. This is a reputation the advisers say is totally false.

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his below the belt politically. To help broaden his base of support and to show that he is not just tied to the Eastern intellectual, Ivy League world, Nixon has spread his advisers to such places as Fairfield, Iowa. There he picked up Millard G. Roberts, president of Parsons College, a Yale divinity school graduate, is an energetic, smiling administrator. He thinks the Democrats pay too much attention to professors "in that complex east of the Hudson River." As a Midwesterner, he felt left out.

He reflects the idea that the Midwest is more moral than the East, that the East has controlled too much of the Nation's public affairs and America's economy is and should remain a free one, that controls don't work to solve agricultural problems.

Outside of these relationships lie many of Nixon's old associates and friends. Among them are Philip Watts, formerly on the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, and now a Washington broker, and the Rev. Fr. John F. Cronin, the man who got Nixon interested in fighting communism and is on the staff of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Any role these men play in the campaign is purely personal to Nixon and hard to define. But it is also hard to define the role of an adviser like Nixon who has a long-established position in the Government and is apart from other candidates.

MONDAY: Nixon's economist and an immensely popular man, plus others.

U.S. Student Aid

NAIROBI, Kenya, Aug. 20 (UPI)—African Nationalist leader Tom Mboya today rejected a \$100,000 student aid from the United States State Department because he felt the "belaunt gesture" by the administration came only after it learned that a foundation backed by Democratic presidential candidate John F. Kennedy had made a similar offer.

The move would provide aid for 200 African students to come to the United States.

Republicans heard about this magnanimous gesture of the Kennedy foundation and perhaps thought in view of the presidential election Kennedy might get some of the aid.

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